4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

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FISHERMAN'S HUT.

CHAPTER II.

From Mororran to the Saru River.

361 THIRTEEN more miles in a *basha*—for I was still in civilised regions—took me to Horobets—a village half Ainu and half Japanese.

[552] The Ainu often name their villages after rivers, and this word Horobets, which in English means "large river," is an instance of this custom. In Southern Japan, previous to my [797] visiting Yezo, I was told that nearly all the Ainu of Horobets had become "good Christians." If such were the case, which I do not wish my readers to doubt, the small experience which I had here, led me to believe that "good Christians" often make "very bad heathens."

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609 I left all my baggage in a tea-house at the entrance of the village, and, taking my paint-box with me, I went for a walk along the beach. I saw a crowd of Ainu in the distance, and I hurried up to them. They were busy skinning a large Ushi-sakana (cow-fish), cutting it into pieces with their long

THE KAMUI

776 account she came forth from an elm-tree impregnated by Kando-koro Kamui, also called Rikun Kando Kamui, the Possessor of the Heavens. A third and common account makes her emerge from the [372] fire-drill, and according to a variant of this both Kamui Fuchi and [794] Kinashut Kamui derive from the fire-drill. Because of her close association with wood, a myth derives her *ramat* from the spirit of vegetation.

As I understand it, Kamui Fuchi is the judge who punishes any misconduct, ritual or ethical, in this life by visiting upon the offender some misfortune or withdrawing her protection against evil spirits. I have been unable to confirm Batchelor's statement that she is concerned with a final 'day of judgment' by 'the great judge of all'.

Nusa-koro Kamui is held in high esteem, equal or nearly equal to that of Kamui Fuchi, who, according to some accounts, is his sister. But he is appealed to less frequently.

776 778 As will be described later, all *pase* (important or weighty) *kamui* have their own assigned positions where *inau* are placed for them. That of Kamui Fuchi is the hearth, and is the most revered of all. The next best place is reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui; it is outside the sacred window and to the left of it. At Nibutani, where the window faces east, it is to the north-east. These sacred places, or rather the *inau* set up there, contain *ramat* of their respective *kamui*.

776 [552] The name Nusa-koro Kamui[1] is really an epithet, as are nearly all titles of *kamui* and of persons. Even the most sacred names, which may only be uttered on serious occasions and then *sotto voce*, are epithets. In prayers he is addressed as Kotan-koresu (village raising) Kamui.

[769] [795] [798] [782] The nature of Nusa-koro Kamui is somewhat mysterious, but investigation reveals a close connection with ancestor worship and of traces of a snake cult. Elders are buried near his *nusa*, and the place selected for libations and offerings to the dead, which are never omitted at any *kamui nomi* (festal service) to the gods, is nearby. In this ritual, offerings to Nusa-koro Kamui, like offerings to the dead, are carried out through the west door instead of being passed through the east window as is done for all other *kamui*.

[114] [1] According to Munro Nusa-koro Kamui is masculine, but Mr Watanabe says that this deity is feminine, the sister of Kamui Fuchi, and is charged with the feeding of the Ainu. He also says that Hash-insu-uk Kamui and Kinashut Kamui are siblings of Nusa-koro Kamui.—B.Z.S.

THE KAMUI

Closely associated with this deity is Kinashut Kamui, the spirit chief of the snakes, whom we have just mentioned in connection with Kamui Fuchi. Christian Ainu may, as Batchelor suggests, have expressed the view that the snake is the source of all evil, but it is not the view of the heathen Ainu. Kinashut Kamui is usually accepted as a *pase kamui* (weighty, or important *kamui*); he is identified by some elders with Nusa-koro Kamui, and by others is regarded as his coadjutor or his brother. Like him he is sometimes addressed as Kamui Ekashi (Sacred Ancestor), and like him he may, as protector of the village precincts, be invoked to ward off a typhoid epidemic.[1] As we shall see later, his image in snake form is used in various rites of exorcism.

In prayer for succour, in illness or other troubles, the first to be besought is, as always, Kamui Fuchi, and the next Nusa-koro Kamui. In many cases Kinashut Kamui is also besought with the consent of his 'co-dweller'. In difficult childbirth and various diseases Kinashut Kamui is invoked as a healing deity, and is then addressed as Shiturupakpe Kamui Ekashi.

The meaning of the word *kinashut* is uncertain, but living snakes are often referred to as Kinashut Kamui. Snakes are said to be rancorous and revengeful when killed or injured, even accidentally, and their *ramat*, considered evil, is then apt to take malicious possession of people. In such cases the *ramat* of Kinashut Kamui himself is solicited to oust the intruder.

In most parts of the Hokkaido Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui share a *nusa* called the chaff-thrown (*muru-kuta*) *nusa* because the husks of millet are thrown there and form a heap. The millet, with other food, is kept in an elevated storehouse. Snakes breed in the heap and frequent the storehouse where rats breed, and they eat the young rats. This may have contributed to the reluctance to kill snakes, but there are deeper causes, and belief in their mysterious powers includes a phallic element. I have not found a belief that women are fertilized by snakes when passing graves, but young women were cautioned not to sleep while on the hills lest they became pregnant by a snake.

A full description of the different *inau* and their arrangement in

[1] In a note on the treatment of disease, received only in 1960, Munro states that this title: Kotan koresu, Moshiri koresu, Kamui Ekashi, 'Divine ancestor who rears the *kotan*', is a name too sacred for ordinary use and is invoked only in prayer to Kinashut Kamui in dire necessity. A snake skin found in the granary is regarded as a talisman.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

EFFIGIES

A-e-oina Kamui who taught the Ainu to make this *kamui*. Entering by the sacred window he is introduced to Kamui Fuchi, who is begged to consult him as deputy for Shiramba Kamui.

It has been stated that he is the husband of Kamui Fuchi. Such a surmise might be prompted by the fact that his heart came hot from her hearth, but all the elders whom I questioned emphatically denied it. There is an idea that Shiramba Kamui is her father, and this, though vague, makes the suggestion of such a relationship repugnant. As to the evidence of the heart, not only is the charred wood the gift of Shiramba Kamui, but it also refers to the original method of fire-production. Further, the same argument would apply to two other hand-made *kamui* of the winged type, whose hearts are also live embers from the fire.

Chisei-koro Kamui is ensconced in the sacred north-east corner till the time comes for his ritual dismissal,[1] or taking flight (*hopun-ire*). Till then it is very rare for him to be moved from his place by the corner-post. It is said in old tales that when a nearby conflagration threatened the house, he, as deputy for Shiramba Kamui, was taken to the ridge of the roof to ward it off. A similar expedient is still employed in Japan.

Formerly when the householder died this effigy was taken to the soul *nusa* and dismantled with due ceremony and a parting gift of *inau*. Some Ainu now think it better to retain the old and experienced *kamui* than to make a new one.

In prayer he is called Kenru-sopa a-a-Kamui in reference to his position in the house. *Kenru* is the old name for a house, *sopa* indicates the north-east corner, and *chisei* means a dwelling, of men or animals including a burrow or a wasps' nest. Among other titles he is known as House-protecting (Chisei-epungine) Kamui or Ekashi. He is also called Makta, Makwa, or Makna Kamui;[2] these may mean that he is ancient or that in his corner he is far (from Kamui Fuchi). His most significant title is House-root-sustaining (Kenru-shut-amba) Kamui. Rennuikesh told me that at his and other villages in the north there is no separate effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui, but that curled shavings are tied round the corner-post about two feet from the ground, with an old Japanese sword-

[1] There are three types of ritual dismissal, of which *kamui iomande*, for the bear, is the most honourable. It is not quite clear what is the functional difference between *hopun-ire* and the third type—*inakte*.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Makta* means distant, *makan* and *makun* mean behind or ancient (Batchelor, *An Ainu English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar*, Tokyo, 105).—N.G.M.